Special Six-Page Supplement on Radiation

In Mississippi, It's Not Just The Assassin's Bullet, It's The Law and Order

"On Dec. 7, 1961, I was called to the County Attorney's Office. His name is Mr. T. H. Pearson. He was concerned about a campaign against the downtown merchants to get them to employ Negroes and to use courtesy titles instead of boy, girl, aunt, uncle, preacher or nigger.

Mr. Pearson told me if I did not use my influence to put a stop to this campaign he was going to put me in jail. When I refused, he called the Chief of Police, Mr. Ben Collins, and told him, 'Carry this nigger to jail.' I was arrested without a warrant. While I knew this was illegal, I went peacefully because there is no defense from a bullet in your head for resisting arrest, legal or illegal.

"On March 3, 1962, I was arrested while in bed with my wife. A white boy had complained that I had tried to get him to secure me a white woman. After he was not able to get one, he charged I made sexual advances toward him. I presented witnesses at the trial who substantiated my activities during the day [but was found guilty].

"The case was overruled and remanded by the State Supreme Court. Upon discussing this with the Justice Dept. agent, Mr. John Doar, I was called by the press, as someone had been informed I had made a complaint. I was promptly sued for $40,000 and a judgment against me rendered. The men involved were Mr. T. H. Pearson, County Attorney, and Mr. Ben Collins, the Chief of Police."

—Aaron E. Henry, head of the NAACP in Miss., before the House Judiciary Committee June 13. Last March 4, the windows of his drugstore were smashed for the seventh time in two years. On April 5 his home was firebombed; on April 20 a hole blown through the roof of his drugstore.

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

VOL. XI, NO. 14 JUNE 24, 1963 101 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

Destiny May Soon Call, But Will Mr. Kennedy Be at Home?

When President Kennedy was inaugurated, he spoke with the joyful zest of a young man who had a date with destiny. But now it looks as if, when destiny comes calling, he'll be away—on a cold war junket to Germany and a sentimental visit to Ireland. It's not that Mr. Kennedy can't come flying home quickly if the racial situation—as they say—suddenly "deteriorates." It's not the flying time that counts. It's the symbol. For what the trip to Europe says to Negroes, unmistakably, is that they are still a secondary consideration. The main line of Administration effort, the line of least resistance, is still the same old cold war, and not the cold war the Negro has faced for a hundred years as he has tried to make Emancipation a reality.

In the atmosphere of Washington, which is like that of a reigning monarch's court, it seems churlish to say this just when the President has at last made two speeches of the kind we've all been asking for—his eloquent plea at American University June 10 for a fresh start toward peace and his civil rights talk on TV the next night. But the President had hardly finished making his plea for whites to understand the Negro's feelings when it was punctuated by the murder of Medgar Evers in Jackson, Miss. This gave another twist of agony to the Negro's awakening, and within a few hours had made the President's appeal seem little and late.

Humiliation Is The Word

No white man, from the President down, can really understand the Negro's feelings. For this, one must know what it is to feel rejected from birth, and to be made to wonder in the dark night of our hearts whether we may not indeed be a nigger. Humiliation is a word which figures honorably in Mr. Kennedy's strategy of peace, not to back an opponent into that dangerous corner where he must knuckle under or unleash mutual suicide. But few of us seem to understand that humiliation is what the Negro's struggle is all about. To be deprived of manhood, to be denied the right to hit back, to have no job and depend on your wife's support, to be beaten by the cops with impunity, to be drafted for some crazy white folks' crusade for freedom far away when there's a bigger and more genuine one to be fought at home: how can a white man really know what it means to be inside a black skin in America?

Only 1,299 Years To Wait

"In 11 States of the Old Confederacy, Mr. Hollis [exec. director of the Citizens Councils of America] said, since the 1954 school desegregation decision only four-tenths of 1 percent of all Negro children are attending desegregated schools. At that rate, he said, it would take 1,299 years to have all of them in desegregated schools, 'and it will take longer than that in Mississippi'."

—Washington Star from Jackson, Miss., June 16.

It would be refreshing, if for once, somebody made a speech on civil rights and skipped all that stuff about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, or admitted frankly that from the beginning they were as plainly marked "for whites only" as any Mississippi drinking fountain. As truly as Athenian democracy was based on slave labor, ours has rested in no small part on Negro slavery and cheap Negro labor. Racism—let's face it—has been a cardinal feature of the American Way, and we carry it with us to all the lands we garrison.

In this perspective the shot that killed Medgar Evers, a hero slain for seeking to liberate his people, was not simply the act of barbarity which the White House termed it. It was part of the system the South has used for a century to keep the Negro in his place. To Negroes it must have seemed a cruel joke for the Justice Department to react in the Evers killing by announcing that it was placing the "full investigatory machinery" of the FBI at the disposal of the Jackson,

(Continued on Page Two)

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The FBI Hasn't Solved A Single Southern Racist Killing Yet

(Continued From Page One)

Miss., police department. The FBI hasn't solved a single one of the shootings which have marked the Negro's struggle for freedom. In 1955 the Rev. Geo. W. Lee was killed for leading an NAACP voters drive in Mississippi. A second leader in this drive, Gus Courts, was shot but escaped death two years later. Evers told Althea Simmons, an NAACP field secretary, last Fall that he with Lee and Courts was on a death list of nine drawn up by white segregationists after the 1954 school decision. The FBI never seems to manage to spy on such conspiracies. FBI men looked on passively when Negroes and a white sympathizer were dragged from a porch and beaten by police in Jackson only a few days ago. The FBI lives in cordial fraternity with the cops who enforce white supremacy. To offer the FBI in the Evers killing was to add a touch of farce to a tragedy.

There's A Wall Nearer Home Than Berlin

Mr. Kennedy, like the rest of us, has much to learn in the racial crisis. It will not be solved by fitful leadership. He cannot make one good TV talk and then rush off to be photographed at the Wall in Berlin. He'd better stay home and concern himself with the no less real wall between white and black at home. He's hynotized by all this nonsense about a multilateral nuclear NATO force; he'd do better to organize a multilateral force at home in the racial crisis—flying squads with Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians on it to bring hope to our untouchables and second class citizens before there's blood in the streets. The coming debates in Congress and the filibuster will only exacerbate racial tension. We dare not forget that in Birmingham, as in Albany, Ga., and in Jackson, Miss., weeks of demonstrations have as yet met only evasion or blank refusal to end grievances. Or that in the North a storm also rises against lily white trade unions and "unsegregated" schools which are all Negro.

An air of the synthetic has always hung over Mr. Kennedy's chrome-plated rhetoric about the peril of our times. But it's here. He has made a start on moral leadership in the racial crisis. He has also picked up again the crusade for peace he launched at the UN two years ago and then dropped. His new speech defied the military bureaucracy to pledge that we would not resume atmospheric testing if the Russians didn't. The new radiation hearings which we discuss in a special supplement this week shows that the fallout peril will become real if the Russians detonate new monsters and we follow suit. But the President cannot expect to place nuclear weapons in the hands of the Germans behind NATO's facade and proceed to build up a missile force of stupefying size without making the Russians skeptical of our assurance that we mean them no harm. Much in his American University speech was truly inspiring; but part also embodied the old blindness. In Vietnam we are as surely imposing our system on an unwilling people as the Russians did in Hungary; Cuba is hardly a monument to the world law we preach. Peace abroad like peace at home requires a painful national self-analysis, a facing of bitter but tonic truths. Both are full time tasks of leadership, not to be met by occasional speeches. It is not easy to be the man in the White House today. It is from no lack of sympathy for the troubles which beset him that we ask for more.

June 18

African Appeal on Test Ban

"It may very well be that science may in the future show beyond doubt that on-site inspections may no longer be needed to identify suspicious seismic events or to control adequately a test ban treaty. For the time being, however, the three African delegations recognize that three, four or so yearly truly effective inspections — or an adequately proportionate figure spread over more years — may be needed to dispel mutual suspicions. . . .

"Since there is general agreement, however, that the number of on-site inspections is less relevant than the terms of the modalities or conditions for the adequate and effective conduct of such on-site inspections, the three delegations therefore exhort the nuclear Powers to rise above quarrelling on an insignificant difference of one or two inspections, and to accept a reasonable quota of inspections contingent upon adequate and effective modalities of inspection."

—Joint Memo by Ethiopia, Nigeria and the UAR to the 18-nation disarmament parley at Geneva June 10 based on the views of the Addis Ababa conference.

Another Defeat for HUAC, Justice for Blinded Communist in Supreme Court

Several victories for the politically persecuted were handed down by the Supreme Court last Monday in its final day of term. In three cases the Court showed a new 5-to-4 lineup, with Warren, Black, Douglas, Brennan and Goldberg against White, Clark, Harlan and Stewart.

The Chief Justice for this liberal majority of five reversed Edward Yellin's conviction for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Here the Court strictly construed the Committee's rules in favor of a First Amendment witness. Under the rules—which the Committee advertises as evidence of fairness but rarely observes—a witness may be heard in executive session where a majority of the Committee determines that a public hearing might "unjustly injure his reputation." In Yellin's case a request for an executive session was rejected by Staff Director Richard Arens without consulting the Committee.

The same majority of five, this time speaking through Mr. Justice Goldberg, reversed two deportation orders, one for brief membership in the Communist Party in 1949 and 1950. This would have sent back to Mexico a man who came here as a boy in 1920 and has since raised an American born family. The majority held that the government had failed to prove that this brief membership was that "meaningful association" required for deportation under the Galvan and Rowoldt cases.

The second decision was another deserved defeat for our xenophobic immigration service. It had twice sought to deport a Swiss resident alien because he had for several hours one afternoon crossed the border into Ensenada, California. The Court ruled that such a visit did not constitute a fresh "entry" allowing deportation for an offense which was not grounds for deportation at the time of the alien's original admission.

In a fourth case, with only White taking no part, the Court unanimously joined the Chief Justice in upholding the right of the Negro Communist leader, Henry Winston, to sue the government for loss of his sight due to prison negligence while serving a Smith Act sentence.

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Behind the Scenes at the Radiation Hearings

The First Public Warning That Safety Standards Were Being Manipulated

"Estimates indicate that in a number of regions of the U.S. the radiation dose received by the thyroid glands of infants and small children may reach a level of 1.5 rem over a 12-month period. . . . This amount is 3 times the quantity of radio-iodine recommended by the Federal Radiation Council as a maximum limit for the average population in one year from the peacetime applications of radioactivity.

"The Council has been quick to point out that this quantity of radio-iodine does not necessarily mean that a level of contamination has been reached which demands the application of widespread public health preventive measures to protect the population from undue exposure. The Council argues that nuclear weapons testing cannot be construed as a peacetime operation and hence the protective standards which have been established for peacetime do not necessarily hold for contamination from fallout. . . .

"It is not possible to know all of the reasons why the FRC decided that its radiation standards do not apply to environmental contamination from fallout. One of the principal ones, however, is undoubtedly that the U.S. government would feel somewhat embarrassed if public health authorities were to institute protective measures to prevent the intake of radio-iodine by the population during a time when its own weapons testing is contributing to world contamination problems.

"It may be anticipated, however, that our government may be embarrassed regardless of what action the FRC now takes. If it reverses its stand and institutes its peacetime radiation standards on the fallout problem, and if in consequence preventative measures are instituted in this country, one may expect other countries to complain that they do not have the means to protect themselves.

"On the other hand if the Council decides to institute a new series of radiation protective standards which apply only to fallout and which are substantially higher than those applying to peacetime applications of radionuclides, repercussions may also develop because such standards would be well in excess of those internationally agreed upon and promulgated by the International Commission on Radiation Protection."

—Prof. Russell H. Morgan, Johns Hopkins, before the American Public Health Association, last Dec. 12, Miami. This little noticed speech was the first public warning of what was going on behind the scenes in the FRC.

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How the Pentagon Protects Itself from Fallout

To understand the radiation hearings just held by a subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy one must glance briefly at the long and secretive campaign waged by the military in recent years to free itself from the health standards established for radioactivity. Much of this story is unknown not only to the public but to most members of Congress. It helps explain why the Federal Radiation Council after four years of existence still has set no health standards for fallout, why it is reluctant to authorize countermeasures when and where fallout levels approach limits regarded as dangerous under existing international protective standards, and why it would like to establish special—and looser—standards where fallout is concerned, so as to protect the military from pressure at home and abroad for cessation of atmospheric testing.

A Loophole for the Military

Few people are aware that even if the Federal Radiation Council establishes health safety limits for fallout, the military already has a loophole through which it can evade these regulations. This loophole was obtained by a kind of sit-down strike waged by the Pentagon and the AEC against the Federal Radiation Council. This "strike" won for the military—in an Eisenhower executive order—what they had been unable to obtain on Capitol Hill. This is the story.

In the spring of 1959, there was strong public agitation to take radiation health standards away from the AEC, which shared the military's desire for continued testing, and place it in the Public Health Service. To head off legislation designed to do this, Eisenhower on August 14, 1959, set up a Federal Radiation Council to fix national standards of radiation health and safety. Ten days later John A. McCone, now head of the CIA, then chairman of the AEC, turned up with the military at a hearing on Capitol Hill before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy with an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act.* The effect of the amendment would have been to give the military exemption from national health and safety standards. The possibility that the new Federal Radiation Council might set fallout standards and that these might interfere with weapons testing was not mentioned. But McCone himself admitted that "as atomic weap-

Chaos in Health Protection

"The statement of the Federal Radiation Council that its previously published radiation standards do not apply to fallout has produced chaos for those public health authorities at the Federal, State and local levels who live in regions where Iodine-131 fallout contamination is unusually high. Indeed, until the Council announces the levels at which it does believe preventive measures should be introduced to protect the public health, these authorities must act on their own without the counsel of the Federal authorities which has been established by law to provide them just such guidance."

—Dr. Morgan in the speech quoted above.

***Amending the Atomic Energy Act and Authorization of Stanford Accelerator Project: Hearing by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Aug. 26, 1959.**

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ons, nuclear propelled vessels and other military reactors in the custody of military departments became more numerous, the requirements of military readiness in training and maneuverability may exert more and more influence toward less restrictive safety procedures." Yet he was proposing to open the door to looser standards. "In other words," Senator Anderson (*D. N.M.*), then chairman of the Joint Committee asked McCone "if you thought certain [safety] requirements were necessary for a military reactor, the Department of Defense can just tell you to pay attention to your own business?" McCone replied, "That is correct." The bill was never reported out of committee.

What Ike Gave Them

The military, with the help of the AEC, then proceeded to win by executive order what they had failed to obtain in legislation. The Federal Radiation Council was set up by Eisenhower August 14, 1959, with its main purpose " to test and fix national standards of radiation and fallout safety" (*Facts on File,* Aug. 13-19, 1959). But it took nine months before the FRC had its first executive order ready for the President establishing its "Radiation Protection Guides." I am told that one reason for the long delay was the difficulty in getting the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the AEC to come to meetings of the Council. (The chairman was the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; the other member was the Secretary of Commerce. The Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture have since been added.) DOD and AEC stayed away until a compromise had been reached on health and safety regulations. This compromise, as embodied in the first executive order, gave the Defense Department the loophole it wanted.

The executive order signed by Eisenhower May 13, 1960, recommends first of all that "The Federal agencies apply these Radiation Protection Guides with judgment and discretion, to assure that reasonable probability is achieved in the attainment of the desired goal of protecting men from the undesirable effects of radiation." This was to make the standards somewhat less than mandatory. But then it went on to say "The Guides may be exceeded only after the Federal agency having jurisdiction over the matter has carefully considered the reasons for doing so in the light of the recommendations in this paper." This loophole is far larger than that which the AEC had asked for the Defense Department the previous summer. The bill which the Joint Committee refused to report out would have required "the President . . . to the extent he deems necessary in the national interest" to make a finding and issue an order before the Defense Department could exceed health and safety standards. Under the Executive order, however, the Defense Department can exceed these standards on its own without referring the decision to the President.

The loophole so far has been unnecessary. The Federal Radiation Council soon proved to be no more than a facade behind which the military and the AEC continued to run the show. The extent of the FRC's inactivity was indicated in May of last year when the National Advisory Committee on Radiation under the respected Dr. Russell H. Morgan of Johns Hopkins reported to the Surgeon General that unless greater effort were put into the development of countermeasures against Strontium-90, Iodine-131 and other fallout poisons "the nation may well be faced in a few years with contamination problems which cannot be easily solved." It also noted politely but unmistakably that "primary responsibility for the direction of the nation's countermeasures effort against environmental contamination has not focussed in any one place of the Federal government." The FRC was supposed to be this focus.

The farce begun under Eisenhower continues under Ken-

Fallout No Different

Rep. Melvin PRICE, Chairman, Subcommittee on Radiation, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy: Just how do you expect to educate the public that limits on radiation from one source are not applicable to radiation from fallout?

Dr. Gordon M. DUNNING, Operational Safety Division, Atomic Energy Commission: A roentgen is a roentgen is a roentgen. I don't think you can. I don't think you should, for just that reason, I think. A roentgen is a roentgen."

—Joint Committee radiation hearing, June 4.

How the Federal Radiation Council Dodges Its Responsibility on Fallout

"One important result of the hearings held June 4-7, 1962, was the [Joint Atomic Energy] Committee's attempt to obtain clarification of the applicability of radiation protection standards. In his capacity as chairman of the Federal Radiation Council, Secretary [of HEW] Celebrezze replied in a letter of August 17, 1962, but instead of clarifying the matter, Mr. Celebrezze's statement introduced extraordinary confusion, and this confusion persists.

"Before Mr. Celebrezze's reinterpretation, it was generally assumed that the Radiation Protection Guides (RPG) are applicable to the present situation. The FRC now holds that we are not currently engaged in 'normal peacetime operations' and that the RPG's were developed specifically 'in connection with the industrial use of ionizing radiation.' This flatly contradicts the FRC staff report (May 13, 1960) in which 'only major nuclear accidents' are specifically excluded from peacetime uses. In addition, the U.S. Public Health Service, a division of Mr. Celebrezze's HEW, has consistently referred to the RPG's with reference to fallout.

"The FRC can, of course, reinterpret the applicability of its recommendations, but endless public confusion could have been avoided by a frank statement that the interpretation has been changed. It is doubtful, however, whether the FRC can with impunity fail to discharge its lawful obligations; it is charged by Public Law 86-373 with the formulation of radiation standards. According to Mr. Celebrezze, more than three years after its formation, the Council has yet to establish standards applicable to fallout. This seems incredible.

"In the absence of standards, public health officials and individual physicians cannot adopt a meaningful policy with respect to countermeasures. This problem has been compounded by the US Public Health Service policy of referring to the RPG as the relevant guide when the cumulative yearly dose from a particular isotope appears to be below the RPG and referring to Mr. Celebrezze's statement of August 17, 1962, or the FRC statement of Sept. 10, 1962 when the RPG is exceeded."

—Letter to Chairman Price as the radiation hearings opened June 3 from the Greater St. Louis Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Information.

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nedy. The Federal Radiation Council, for all its high sounding name, is little more than a subcommittee of the President's Cabinet. It meets no more than a few times a year, and about all the busy Cabinet members who comprise it have time to do is to sign the papers prepared for them. Its budget for the fiscal year now ending was the microscopic sum (for Washington) of $48,000. Its chairman, HEW Secretary Celebrezze, testified at the radiation hearings that now he was going to insist that the Council—after four years of existence—have a full time staff! Until now it has depended on part time help.

AEC and Army Still Run The Show

The man who runs the Federal Radiation Council is its executive director, Dr. Paul C. Tompkins. He was formerly head of the U.S. Naval Radiological Laboratory and went from there to the AEC, from which he was assigned this year to the FRC. His opening statement disclosed that his salary was still paid by the AEC. Thus an AEC employe holds the key post on the FRC. In the background, working closely with Dr. Tompkins, is another figure whom many scientists regard as the real power behind the scenes in the field of radiation. He is Lt. Col. James B. Hartgering, one of the U.S. Army's leading radiologists. He is assigned by the Army to the staff of the President's Science Adviser. Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner. Dr. Wiesner sits on the FRC as the President's representative, and Col. Hartgering is Dr. Wiesner's assistant in charge of radiation matters. He plays a leading part in the discussions at the FRC on these second echelon levels where the decisions are really made. Between them the AEC's Tompkins and the Army's Hartgering run the show.

One of the objectives of the military scientific bureaucracy which these two men represent is to control the hearings which the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has been holding on radiation almost every year since 1957. These have become steadily more one-sided. Except for the U.S. Weather Bureau and its chief spokesman Dr. Lester Machta, this year's scheduled witnesses were all safely dedicated to the Pentagon-AEC viewpoint. As one angry scientist in an official agency put it privately, "Dr. Tompkins arranged the hearings and then appeared at them as chief witness." Private and public protest led Rep. Mel Price (*D. Ill.*) who presided over the hearings to say uneasily at their start he was "giving consideration" to a second round of hearings later at which non-governmental witnesses would be heard. But as this was being written the latest word from the Joint Committee was that there still had been no decision. There will be no second round unless scientists and public spokesmen vigorously press for it. Fortunately Senator Bartlett of Alaska insisted on being heard, and his statement (see boxes on pages five and six) provided a breath of fresh air at the hearings and a taste of what they would have been like if independent scientists had been there to challenge the official presentations.

These bureaucrats are masters at public relations. They know how to achieve a *minimum* of publicity when that is what they want. Through a question slipped to Chairman

Misleading the Public on Thyroid Perils

"On June 29, 1962, a group of children from the St. Louis was sent to New York for thyroidal iodine-131 measurements. According to the New York Times ("Tests Find Levels of Fall-Out Safe," July 8, 1962), Mr. Merrill Eisenbud reported that 'tests completed at the New York University Medical Center indicate that the amount of radioactive iodine entering the thyroid glands of children has not approached the danger level.' Not mentioned was the fact that one cannot count Iodine-131 over the thyroid after decay has occurred. Is it possible that Mr. Eisenbud and the US Public Health Service, which sponsored this expedition at considerable public expense, were unaware of this? What possible purpose could be served by giving the public such misleading reassurance?"

—Letter from the Greater St. Louis Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Information to Chairman Price at the Radiation Hearings, June 3.

Senator Bartlett Accuses Government of Failing to Protect Nation's Children

"In the coming year levels of fallout are expected to increase four fold. In the years ahead, no one can say that these levels will drop: many would bet they will continue to increase. If we continue to drift, as a nation, putting off decisions as to the amounts of poisoned radio-contaminants we will allow ourselvs to absorb, thereby postponing the application of protective countermeasures in the isolated cases where they are needed, we may find one of these years that it is too late. Let us not dwell on the dimensions of such a discovery.

"Our present efforts in the field of radiation measurement and control are inadequate in my opinion, and they are confused. The U.S. Government is not doing what it could or should do in this field. . . .

"The Radiation Protection Guide for a 12-month intake of Iodine-131 is set at 36,500 microcuries 'as an acceptable health risk for large population groups for a life time, compatible with the orderly development of nuclear industry in the U.S.' This level is set conservatively in order to protect the infants, children and the unborn who are particularly sensitive to contaminant. Should this level be reached the Public Health Service advises that 'counter-measures should be considered and surveillance increased.'

"According to a Public Health study, 10 percent of all male infants under one year drink 1.3 liters of milk a day. A child in Palmer, Alaska, consuming one liter of milk a day from Sept. 29, 1961, to Sept. 29, 1962, would have received 39,660 micromicrocuries of Iodine-131. A child in St. Louis, Mo., consuming a liter of milk a day from May 1957 to April 1958 would have received 91,250 micromicrocuries of Iodine-131. A child in Salt Lake City, Utah, consuming a liter of milk a day from Oct. 25, 1961, to Oct. 25, 1962, would have received 37,040 micromicrocuries of Iodine-131. A child in Minneapolis, Minn., consuming a liter of milk a day from Oct. 25, 1961, to Oct. 25, 1962, would have received 32,060 micromicrocuries of Iodine-131.

"Children in Salt Lake City, St. Louis, Palmer and Minneapolis have received more—some have received far more—Iodine-131 than is considered an 'acceptable health risk.' Yet no counter-measures of any kind have been suggested or ordered by the Federal government. There is even some question whether the Federal surveillance network analyzes samples quickly enough to make counter-measures effective. There is, however, no doubt the network is so loosely constructed that many, many cases of high Iodine-131 contamination go entirely undetected and unevaluated."

—Senator Bartlett (D. Alaska) before the radiation hearings of the Joint Committee, June 4. He was the only independent witness heard.

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Price by a newsman, for example, attention was called to the fact that the monthly tabulations on fallout in milk are sent out by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for release in Saturday morning papers, the poorest day of the week for a release as every press agent knows. Similar treatment was given the FRC's Report No. 4 on Fallout through 1962, issued on the eve of the hearings. When government officials have a report they want fully publicized, they invite all the reporters they can to an advance briefing, call their attention to salient points and give them several days in which to digest it before they have to write their stories. In this case only a handful of reporters were called in Friday afternoon, May 31 and the report was for release next morning, June 1. This was the long Memorial Day week-end, one of the worst in the year for a release.

Figures Too Huge to Be Hidden

But some things cannot be hidden. The FRC report and the testimony showed all too plainly that the level of testing and the amount of fallout have been growing at a giant pace unbelievable a few years ago. One way to set the figures in perspective is to look back at the panel in the 1957 hearings which estimated that from 2 megatons to 10 megatons a year of testing would constitute a reasonable amount without undue danger to the health of mankind. In the six years, 1945-51 inclusive total fission yield was seven tenths of a megaton or little more than a tenth of a megaton a year. In the five years 1952-56 inclusive, the total was 53.1 megatons or a little more than 10 megatons a year, *100 times as much.* In the two years 1957-58 the annual megatonnage doubled to 20 MT a year. In 1961 this rose to 25 MT and in 1962 tripled to 76 MT. These are the fission yield figures, not the total yields. The fission produces poisons like Strontium-90 and Iodine-131.

With the appearance of thermonuclear weapons, the total yields have grown even more. The total yields provide a clue to the amount of Carbon-14 with its long term genetic hazards. The first H-bomb was exploded in 1952. In the five years 1952-56, total yield of bombs exploded was 113 MT, more than 20 MT a year. In '57-58, it was 85 MT or 40 MT a year. In 1961 it was 120 MT and in 1962 it was 217MT. This is a total yield of 535 MT, or 535,000,000 *tons* of TNT equivalent, in 9 years of testing or almost 60 MT a year. These stupendous figures are the equivalent of 350 pounds exploded for every man, woman and child on the planet.

Another way to measure what has happened is to look back at the Joint Atomic Energy Committee's report on its first radiation and fallout hearings in 1957. Then it concluded gingerly by saying "it would appear that the consequences of further testing over the next several generations at the level of the past 5 years could constitute a hazard to the world's population. If the level of future testing rises, then the hazard could be greater and could arrive sooner." The level to which that report referred was 10 megatons of fission and 20 megatons of total yield per year. Last year the total fission yield was almost 8 times greater (76MT) and the total yield was more than 10 times greater (217 MT). In addition to the steep rise in volume of testing, new dangers have come

Cat Out of The Bag

Health Not The Only Consideration

"The [Federal Radiation] Council has concluded that it is not practical, at least at the present time, to propose fixed levels of radionuclide concentrations in environmental media at which health protection action is required. If they were set only to avoid dangerous levels of exposure, they would be too high to have much practical significance for most problems. In addition, such guidelines would open the door to the acceptance of unnecessary exposures resulting in an undue risk to the public health which is not really necessary.

"Conversely, if they are set low, as they properly should be for health protection purposes alone, the way will have been opened to impose an unwarranted impact on the economy of the nation which cannot be justified by the magnitude of the health risk."

—Dr. Paul C. Tompkins, executive director, Federal Radiation Council, at the radiation hearings, June 4.

"The health implications associated with fallout and the possible influence of protective measures on the U.S. economy and the national security are major considerations to which proposed actions would need to be related."

—HEW Secretary Celebrezze explaining to the radiation hearings June 6 why the Federal Radiation Council, of which he is chairman, is reluctant to establish firm fallout danger standards.

Alaska's Bartlett Asks: What Is The Good Of Guidelines, If They're Not Used?

"I cannot help feeling that the hesitancy in applying the Radiation Protection Guide to fallout is caused by the fear that Range III levels may be attained and that counter-measures may, therefore, be called for. Officials responsible for such matters have publicly expressed concern that the application of counter-measures might have unpleasant economic consequences.

"The fear of the economic consequences resulting from the implementation of counter-measures should have no place whatever in the calculation of acceptable limits of exposure. There is time enough to worry about the economic consequences after the public has been protected. When a can of food is infected with botulism, the Food and Drug Administration does not hesitate to inform the public because it fears the economic results of its announcement.

"If the Federal Radiation Council is not prepared to recommend counter-measures when third range danger levels are attained, then why does it not say so and clearly? If the Guide does not apply, let us be told; let the Government stop using it. Let it be dropped at once. It is responsible and indefensible to continue its use and at the same time refuse to act when its guidelines indicate action. . . .

"What makes the authorities so unwilling to recommend counter-measures? Both Minnesota and Utah last year, on their own initiative and contrary to the advice of the Federal Radiation Council, took positive action and temporary steps. What was the effect of this action? Was there public panic? Was there severe economic dislocation? I doubt it. The American people are sensible.

"In fact, if the American citizen was confident that counter-measures would be taken when unusual amounts of fallout were present, a good deal of the mistrust and apprehension that surrounds the subject in the public mind would disappear."

—Sen. Bartlett (D. Alaska) at the radiation hearings June 4.

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to light. In 1957 the Committee discussed only Strontium-90 and Cesium-137. Since then the importance of many short-lived nuclides has been discovered, particularly Iodine-131. And we have also discovered the dangers in the Carbon-14 produced by fusion in the big thermonuclear weapons. Yet the theme song of the Federal Radiation Council and the AEC and the military as presented in these new hearings and in the latest FRC report is still that there is no danger. The levels, the FRC said, "fall far short of figures which would cause concern or justify countermeasures."

The Menace of Iodine-131

Insofar as Iodine-131 is concerned, this certainly is not true. The figures as presented in the official reports and testimony are as tricky as an Insull balance sheet. But a careful reading is not reassuring. For example, Dr. Gordon M. Dunning of the AEC figures that the highest national average of Iodine-131 in milk occurred from Sept. 1961 through August 1962 and reached 34 picocuries per liter. Both he and the FRC estimate that 80 picocuries per liter would give an average dose to infant thyroids of 0.5 rem, which is the dosage that is supposed to mark the beginning of danger in the RPG's (Radiation Protection Guides). This means that the national *average* for 12 months at that time was almost half the RPG. But those who have studied Iodine-131 closely know that national averages are very deceptive in dealing with it. The fall of Iodine-131 is as unpredictable as summer weather. The problem is to deal with "hot spots" where a heavy fall may endanger a considerable number of children unless countermeasures are swiftly taken.

On page 39 of the FRC report one will discover that though 80 picocuries per liter is figured to produce 0.5 rems over a year, the FRC "rounds this out" to 100 in figuring its yearly RPG of 36,500 or 100 per day. That is 25% higher, quite a "rounding off." If the 80 picocuries figure is applied it comes out to 29,200 picocuries a year. On that basis, the latest report released June 8 shows three milksheds over the danger point for the year ended last April 27: Palmer, Alaska, with 38,050; Salt Lake City, with 31,920, Kansas City, Missouri, with 30,070. It also shows Des Moines, Wichita, and Spokane were past 21,000 picocuries for the 12 months; Laramie, Wyoming and Omaha, Nebraska, past 19,000; Dallas and Oklahoma City past 18,000. Should not such areas begin to plan countermeasures if testing resumes?

Dr. Dunning said the highest measured sample of milk showed 9,000 picocuries of iodine-131 per liter at Snyderville, Utah, on July 20 of last year, more than 100 times the RPG. Dr. Forrest Western, director of the AEC's Division of Radiation Protection Standards, testified that a forthcoming article in *Science* by Pendelton, Lloyd and Mays of the University of Utah would show that they found milk in their area which could have delivered a dose of 14 rems "if used by an infant during the period of high activity." This would be 28 times as much as the RPG of half a rem or 500 millirems per year. Dr. Western himself said he knew of one child who had received 16 rads (equivalent in this case to rems) to the thyroid or 32 times the RPG for one year. Dr. Western said the whole subject was "controversial" and "has been under detailed study by the AEC for a year or more, and we expect in the not too distant future to issue a report on this subject." The gossip in scientific circles is that this report, when released, will show that the iodine-131 problem is more serious than has yet been admitted.

The reassurances are based on the unspoken assumption that there will be no more testing and that fallout will gradually die away. Chairman Price asked Dr. Dunning after some reassuring 30-year and 70-year figures, what would hap-

Still Stalling

"On June 18, 1962, we wrote to the Secretary of HEW asking whether the radiation protection guides established by the Federal Radiation Council were applicable to the problem of fallout. . . . In response the Secretary made clear that the guides established by the Federal Radiation Council were not applicable to fallout. . . . One year later we find that no action has been taken to clarify this situation. . . . We have been told by Dr. Tompkins, the new acting Executive Director of the FRC, that 'Within the next year the Council will make some positive recommendations dealing with this problem.' It is my hope that the FRC will not require a full year. . . . Unless the FRC acts with dispatch, a Pandora's box of ill-timed, ill-advised and uncoordinated action may be opened."

—Chairman Mel Price (D. Ill.) of the radiation subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy at its hearing June 4.

FAS Estimates 1962 Fallout Cancer Damage to U.S. Embryos Equals 1960 Polio Deaths

"The available data obtained in large-scale medical survey studies indicate a direct relationship between childhood cancer mortality and the amount of radiation received during the embryonic stage. This direct relation has now been shown to hold down to levels as low as that resulting from a typical X-ray picture during pelvimetry. This also is approximately equivalent to the amount of radiation received by individuals anywhere in the northern hemisphere as the result of the release of 100 million tons of nuclear fission energy into the lower stratosphere at polar latitudes. The release of such large amounts of radioactive debris, comparable to that resulting from the 1962 USSR-US test series, must therefore be regarded as producing a definite increase in cancer mortality among children born within one or two years following this test series.

"For the U.S. the data lead to an expected increase of 2.5% to 10% in the normal childhood cancer mortality of 1 per 1,000 children born. This amounts to 100 to 400 additional deaths to be expected, which is roughly comparable to the number of individuals that died of polio in the U.S. during 1960. . . .

"Analysis of these studies reveal that the human embryo is more sensitive to a given amount of radiation than the adult by a factor of about 20 to 30. Since furthermore most of the radiation from an atmospheric explosion is received within a short period of six to 12 months, the particular seriousness of the effect on the embryo during the nine months of its development is apparent. . . .

"Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass in a paper just published in Science showed that a direct relation exists between radiation and childhood cancer. . . . A dose of 1 roentgen given in the course of a one-hour series of X-ray pictures can be regarded as producing essentially the same effect as 1/1000 roentgen per hour from fallout over a period of 1,000 hours."

—Federation of American Scientists (Pittsburgh branch)

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pen if atmospheric testing resumed. Dr. Dunning said it would take "many days" to work out the answer but that he would submit it for the record. It is hard to believe that figures do not already exist to estimate the results of resumed testing since the military have been pressing for it. From one witness, Dr. John H. Harley, director of the Health and Safety Division of the AEC, Chairman Price did manage to get an estimate. Dr. Harley said that a series of tests comparable to those of 1962 "would essentially double these figures." He was speaking of Caesium-137, and I am told that other radionuclides would increase in about the same proportion. If you begin to double the figures, they grow less reassuring.

Weakening The Safety Standards

The answer of the military-scientific bureaucracy is that there is nothing to worry about but that one way to keep us from worrying is to raise the safety standards for fallout. The insiders began to work on this remedy last Fall after the alarming rise in Iodine-131. Col. Hartgering helped to set up an ad hoc group under Dr. Tompkins, then in the AEC, which sent around a proposal—so I am told—to multiply existing standards by ten times or more. This would in effect bring population standards for fallout up to present occupational standards for peacetime pursuits. The proposal found little support. The first public discussion of this came in a scathing speech (see box p. 3) which Dr. Russell Morgan made to the American Public Health Association in Miami last December. But it was not until this year's hearings that this "solution" came to public attention. Both the FRC and Dr. Tompkins presented the matter in terms of avoiding disruption to the food industry and to agriculture, not the military. Nobody would guess from their presentation that application of countermeasures would arouse public concern about testing and increase pressure on the Pentagon to end it. Secretary Celebrezze alone referred delicately (see box p. 6) to the fact that "national security" is also a major consideration. National security here, of course, does not mean national security against fallout poisons but the security of the military against pressures to end testing.

The military-scientific bureaucracy is applying countermeasures of its own. On the eve of the hearings the AEC announced that it was launching "a comprehensive, long range program" for the study of radioactivity at its Livermore, California, laboratory and that this would "place special emphasis on early fallout—that fallout which follows a nuclear detonation within hours or days," the most important of these being Iodine-131. Livermore laboratory is Dr. Edward Teller's stronghold. It wouldn't be surprising if after a few months of study at Livermore, word began to leak to the Republicans in Congress that Iodine-131 was *good* for babies.

Positively No Danger

Senator AIKEN: Is there any hope of recovery for these thousands of children that have been receiving more iodine-131 than is supposed to be safe for them?

Dr. TOMPKINS (exec. dir. Federal Radiation Council): There will simply be no noticeable health effect as a consequence of these exposures. So these children are not in danger. They are being threatened with a serious overt risk to their future safety. My opening remarks are that these levels are not dangerous.

—Radiation Hearings, June 4.

"A series of test explosions totalling 100 megatons of fission product equivalent explosive force, comparable to the combined tests of the USSR-US in 1961-2, could be expected to produce a 9-months' dose to the bone marrow [of embryos] anywhere from 150 to 300 mr. [and] . . . then one would expect an increase in childhood cancer mortality between 2.5 and 10% for children born within about a year after the last atmospheric test series. . . .

"The special hazard that these short-lived isotopes [Strontium-89, Barium-140 and Iodine-131] present for the development of childhood cancer should be noted: (i) These isotopes give off their radiations in a time short compared with pregnancy and the critical phases of rapid cell division associated with organ and skeletal formation, unlike the much longer lived Strontium-90 and Cesium-137, for which the appropriate integration time is the whole adult life span. (ii) In particular Iodine-131 is known to have produced leukemia in adults (who are much less sensitive than children) when administered in large therapeutic doses. . . .

"The principal danger of Iodine-131 may therefore not be thyroid cancer, which is normally extremely rare in children and treatment for which leads to better than 90 percent recovery, but rather leukemia, which is the highest single cause of death in children 4 to 14 in the U.S. (other than accidents) and affects about one in every thousand."

—E. J. Sternglass in Science for June 7.

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